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337CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP  
INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Rumania

SUBJECT Alignment of Rumanian  
Emigre Leaders

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SUMMARY OF CONTENT

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1. Resistance to the Antonescu regime, furthered in Western Europe by Grigore Gafencu and Viorel Tilea (former Rumanian Minister to London), and in the United States by Citta Davila (former Minister to Washington), has been transformed since March 1945 into opposition to the Groza Government. In 1946, just before the Paris Peace Conference, the following leaders met in Geneva with Gafencu:

Nicolae Caranfil  
Alexandru Cretzianu

former Minister of State  
former Under-secretary of  
State for Foreign Affairs  
and later Minister to  
Ankara

G. Ratzin

former delegate to the Intellectual  
Cooperation Organization and to  
the International Labor Organization.  
Part of the Titulescu group.

Viorel Tilea

In a secondary capacity:

Gabriel Badarau

member of the Council of the  
International Education Bureau

Brutus Coste  
C. Vulcan  
F. L. Zaharia

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former Charge d'Affaires in Lisbon  
former Cultural Counselor in Bern  
former Secretary General of the  
Ministry of Communications and  
member of Parliament

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2. Among those who were ready to collaborate in action, but who did not participate in the discussions, were Ministers Plenipotentiary Raoul Bossy, Dan Geblescu, Constantin Hiot, and Petrescu-Comneni, as well as Leontin Constantinescu (formerly First Counselor of Press in Bern), Major Iliescu (London), Barbu Niculescu (London), and Professor Herescu (University of Bucharest). Cretzianu had also gathered under his direction a group of young former diplomats among who were the following:

George Anastasiu  
Aristid Burilliamu

former Charge d'Affaires in Bern  
former Second Secretary in Paris  
and Lisbon

Emil Ciurea  
Flesia (fnu)  
Titus Pogoneanu

former Second Secretary of Legation  
former Commercial Attache  
former Second Secretary of Legation

3. The basic aims of the entire emigre group were twofold: (1) an independent Rumania, again friendly with the Western Powers, yet not hostile to the USSR, and (2) a democratic Rumania with political liberties guaranteed and social progress assured. Without constituting a regular organization, the leaders assembled at Geneva wished to coordinate their own future actions and align themselves with their political friends abroad. Collaboration with former "Iron Guards" or with members of other pro-Fascist organizations was considered unfeasible and undesirable.
4. With the exception of Cretzianu and his group of young diplomats, all agreed that the actions of the Rumanians abroad should be individual and independent but should parallel and complement the activity of the internal opposition. While the internal opposition (National Peasant and National Liberal Parties) was considered the foundation and guarantee of Rumanian independence, the emigre leaders were seen as the determining factor in the integration of Rumania into the western political picture.
5. The opponents of this concept, all former diplomats under the leadership of Cretzianu and Grigore Niculescu-Buzesti (who had become Maniu's counselor and a member of the National Peasant Party), defended the principle of subordination of all Rumanian emigre political action to the internal opposition. Members of the Cretzianu group believed that it was their duty to serve as a sort of ad hoc Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representing the opposition movement abroad. They believed the activity of other political leaders abroad to be unimportant and of necessity subordinated to the control of the diplomatic group. Moreover, they had previously taken advantage of the tour of duty of Niculescu-Buzesti and, subsequently, of Constantin Visoiam as Ministers of Foreign Affairs to assure themselves the exclusive control, through Cretzianu, of certain secret funds of the Rumanian State abroad. (These had been sent out of the country by the late Vice-President of the Council and Foreign Minister, Mihai Antonescu, under whom Niculescu-Buzesti had been Director of the Cabinet.)
6. These differences, however, were quickly shelved in the face of the more urgent work of defending Rumania's interests at the Peace Conference. In response to a letter from Maniu to Gafencu requesting the latter to take a hand in this matter, Rumanian leaders abroad cooperated in contacting all the delegations of the Western Powers to acquaint them, by means of lengthy memoirs, with the position of the Rumanian people. The general opinion of Maniu, Gafencu, and other Rumanian leaders was that, since the Groza Government, imposed on the country by the Russians, was incapable of defending Rumanian interests, such an action by the opposition was indispensable.
7. After the Paris Peace Conference, the problem of organization revived with the arrival in the West of General Radescu (former Prime Minister),

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Constantin Visoianu, and Niculescu-Buzesti. All the leaders of Rumanian opposition abroad (except Cretzianu and Ratziu who could not take part, and General Radescu, who, not having a Swiss visa went instead to Annecy, France) met in Geneva at the home of Gafencu to exchange their views. Among those present were Gafencu, Caranfil, Davila, Niculescu-Buzesti, Augustin Popa, Tilea, and Visoianu, as well as Badarau, Constantinescu, Coste, Geblescu, Major Iliescu, Vulcan and Zaharia, plus the diplomats of the Cretzianu group among whom were Anastasiu and Pogoneanu.

8. Once more the essential problem of laboring for the restoration of their nation's independence found the Rumanians abroad united. The new American policy was thought to offer in its firmness, a serious chance for peace and the liberation of the Eastern European peoples. The gathering was unanimously opposed to ratification of the Rumanian peace treaty.
9. The problem of the relationship between the internal opposition and the leaders abroad was again discussed. Those present thought it was not expedient to place emphasis on the organization abroad as long as the opposition could act inside the country. Nevertheless, a sort of "gentlemen's agreement" will regulate the relations between the opposition leaders abroad.
10. Certain difficulties were encountered when Niculescu-Buzesti tried to give a broad interpretation to a letter in which the leaders of the opposition (Maniu, Bratianu, and Titel Petrescu) authorized him to represent them personally. The opinion which finally prevailed was that Niculescu-Buzesti could serve, by virtue of his letter, as useful intermediary to let his colleagues abroad know the opinions of the parties of opposition, without breaking the perfect equality which was to exist between the Rumanian leaders in foreign parts. It was decided, also, that Niculescu-Buzesti's liaison role would automatically cease if, as a result of a breach of relations between the Eastern and Western Europe, the collaboration of the Rumanians abroad had to end in the constitution of a Committee. Such a Committee would then have to act as an independent organ.

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